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the adhesion of some European powers, it will probably accomplish a useful service.

The friends of peace regret profoundly the death of King Edward VII. To this sovereign was due, without contradiction, the preservation, or at least the strengthening, of peace. As he desired this ardently in his own empire, he felt it to be the first of his duties to secure it also to Europe and to the entire world. Of a conciliatory and benevolent character, he knew how discreetly to bring about amicable solutions. His death leaves vacant in the domain of international conciliation an important position. History will ratify the surname "Peacemaker," which was given King Edward in his lifetime, and the host of peacemakers will gratefully hold this monarch in lasting remembrance.

### International Federation.

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*Report presented to the Eighteenth Universal Peace Congress, Stockholm, August 3, 1910.*

#### I. FEDERATION THE IDEAL OF PACIFISTS.

The great thinkers and statesmen who have sought for a means by which peace between the civilized states may be assured are agreed that it must be brought about by some kind of federal union. By federation we mean such a juridical union between independent states as shall provide peaceful and rational methods of settling all questions arising out of their mutual relations, eliminating every occasion for resort to brute force, but not interfering with their autonomy. Federation is thus the means by which the goal of pacifists is to be attained. It must therefore be kept ever before us as the ultimate object of our efforts.

#### II. MODERN HISTORICAL EXAMPLES.

Without going back to the Amphictyonic Councils of ancient Greece, five modern examples claim our attention:

1. That of Switzerland, the history of which has recently been outlined by M. Gobat in his instructive articles in the *Correspondance Bi-Mensuelle*, under the heading "*De l'Organisation Politique de la Paix*,"—a union of twenty-two republican states into one confederation.

2. The United States of America, originally consisting of thirteen states, now forty-eight, the last two territories having recently been admitted into the Union of States.

3. The German Confederation, now become the German Empire, under the constitution of the 16th of April, 1871.

4. The Austro-Hungarian Empire.

5. The self-governing constituents of the British Empire, which, though not formally a confederation, do in fact constitute a federal union. They consist of (1) the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with its Imperial Parliament and government; (2) certain small self-governing islands, the four Channel Islands and the Isle of Man; (3) the self-governing colonies or dominions of Newfoundland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The second, third and fifth of these are themselves federal unions of colonies or states.

Several points claim attention. 1. The first two cases, those of Switzerland and the United States, are federations of republics, possessing representative institutions by which they are governed. The United States, it is

true, have passed through a Civil War; that war arose out of the institution of slavery, embodied in the constitution of some of the States, and illustrates the truth that stable peace cannot be founded on injustice. 2. In the case of Germany, the ambitions of its constituent powers rendered the confederation unstable, and the rivalry of Austria and Prussia ultimately led to its break-up and the substitution of the German Empire, Austria being excluded, and the hegemony of Prussia assured. An important preliminary stage was the Zollverein, which pointed the way to political union, and might have led to a peaceful federation had not the wars with Denmark, Austria and France placed the Prussian monarchy in a position to claim the Imperial crown. Customs union may again prove a stepping-stone to federation. It is certainly an important factor in maintaining federation, since it supplies a powerful commercial motive in favor of union. 3. As regards the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with its complex organization, it appears probable that the autonomy granted in different degrees to different portions of the Empire has alone enabled it to maintain its cohesion and stability.\* 4. The case of the autonomous portions of the British Empire, though, as has been said, they do not constitute a formal federation, has important lessons to teach. Britain learned by the revolt of her American colonies in the eighteenth century that other colonies must be retained by the grant of self-government, a lesson first applied in the case of Canada. This policy has had the effect of uniting in close ties those portions of the Empire to which it has been extended. As was seen during the South African war, the self-governing colonies were all the more ready to make common cause with the mother-country because they were perfectly free to do so or not. Alas, the cause was a bad one! On the other hand, in the great dominion of India, to which only the beginnings of self-government have yet been conceded, the claim of the Indian Congress is not for independence, but for more complete autonomy, and educated Indians urge that, if this be granted, India will become as loyal and devoted to the Empire as Canada or Australia. The last extension of self-government, namely, to the South African Union, has converted a community which only ten years ago was fiercely divided by war, into a united body, perfectly content with that very incorporation into the British Empire against which several members of the present South African government then stubbornly fought. We owe this admirable result to the wisdom of that great pacifist, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Does it not suggest the true solution of the problem of Alsace-Lorraine? Might not the grant of self-government to those provinces finally dispel all danger of war between France and Germany?

Another more general observation arises. In order that federation may work smoothly, there needs to be a considerable measure of popular control over the governments of the federating states. This is needful in order to ensure that the interests of the whole people, which are always those of peace and goodwill, may not be overborne by the dynastic or personal ambitions of a monarch, the class interests of a military aristocracy or an ecclesiastical organization, or the cupidity of financiers

\*A remarkable example is presented in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to which, on their recent annexation, the right of self-government by an independent Diet was accorded.

and capitalists interested in a policy of military expansion which is opposed to the true interests of commerce as a whole. For these reasons it is useless to expect any satisfactory federation except between countries which have genuine parliamentary government. Happily the number of these countries is steadily increasing. Japan, Turkey and Persia have already reached this stage of progress, and China, the greatest nation on the earth, is steadily preparing for it. Russia, though her present Duma is little better than a pretense, will doubtless ultimately revert to one which shall be a true reflection of the mind of the nation.

Something yet further is required for a stable federation. There must be diffused amongst the peoples federating a love of peace and concord, ideas of justice and fair play and a degree of enlightenment sufficient to withstand the interested clamor of a militarist press. To spread these sentiments and this enlightenment is an obvious and essential duty of pacifists.

In view of these requisites to a stable federation, it is difficult to be sanguine as to its early practicability. Yet it is encouraging to be able to quote the closing words of the final chapter, that on federation, of the late Professor Sidgwick's "Development of European Polity"—a chapter not written from the standpoint of a pacifist, but from that of a thoughtful student of political institutions. "An extension of federation," he writes, "seems to me the most probable of the political prophecies relative to the form of government."

### III. ACTUAL BEGINNINGS OF WORLD FEDERATION.

Whilst the complete and formal federation of the civilized world (or of any great group, such as that of Europe) must probably be looked upon as still distant, it is highly encouraging to observe that already the beginnings of such a federation exist and have grown up almost unnoticed.

1. The International Congresses, of which M. LaFontaine gave us an imposing enumeration at the London Peace Congress two years ago, especially those in which the governments were represented, have been the first step. They have led up to

2. The International Unions (Postal, Telegraphic, Railway, Weights and Measures, Industrial Property and others) which are already in existence and in which many different governments take part.

3. The Hague Court of Arbitration is another important step towards federation. Established by the first Hague Conference, consolidated and extended by the second, it has become the recognized arbiter to which all serious differences between states are referred. The International Prize Court, provided for by the second Hague Conference and elaborated by the Naval Conference of London, may be regarded as an extension of the same principle, though it will only be called into existence if war should unhappily again break out.

4. Lastly, the Hague Conferences, henceforth periodic, are the beginning of a true world-federation. At the first Hague Conference all the European, together with several Asiatic and American states, had representatives, not to deal with the results of war, but to establish peace between the nations. That was a new thing in the world's history. But this conference did not provide for its own renewal, and it needed a fresh invitation, prompted by the United States government, though formally issued

by Russia, to bring about the second conference, in which all the organized powers of the world, except one or two unimportant ones, were represented. This second conference, however, recognized the need of providing for its own perpetuation, and gave to the world the nucleus of a regular organization of peace. It thus realized the ideal of a periodic congress, which had been perseveringly held up by our colleague, Dr. Trueblood. There is good ground for hope that each successive meeting of the Hague Conference will add something to the framework, already existing in the Hague Court and the Hague Bureau, of a world-wide federation, which may thus grow up little by little into a complete juridical system.

Under this general heading I may refer to two other precedents:

1. The Interparliamentary Union is of great value as a voluntary association of persons holding or having held the responsible position of members of the legislature in their respective countries, who meet periodically to discuss the most practical methods of promoting peace. I confess that I do not see how this association is to become part of a formal federation without losing the voluntary character which appears to me an essential factor of its usefulness.

2. The Pan-American Bureau, created by the Pan-American Congress, is, as was shown by Mr. Fried in his paper presented to the General Assembly of Peace Societies at Brussels last year, a precedent which might well be followed by the European powers. It would constitute a step towards European federation.

One more point must be referred to. Is it not possible that partial federations between neighboring states may prepare the way for a more general, even world-wide federation? A Scandinavian federation seems to an outsider so eminently desirable and natural that I refuse to consider it as hopeless of realization when time shall have allayed the memory of the recent divergence of views between Sweden and Norway—a divergence happily settled without bloodshed, to the everlasting honor of both nations.\* A federal union between Holland and Belgium might well, it would seem, replace the unnatural subjection of the latter to the former, which was forced upon them by the Vienna Congress. A confederation of the Balkan States would also seem to be very desirable.

Perhaps, too, we may trace a beginning of federation in the *entente cordiale* between Britain and France, the creation of which, one of the happiest events of the past half-century and the great and abiding monument of King Edward the Peacemaker, has put an end to the traditional rivalry, which had so often broken out into actual warfare, between these neighboring peoples. The entry of Germany into the *entente* is alone needed to remove from Western Europe, at all events, all conceivable danger of war. May this happy consummation soon be brought about!

### IV. CONCLUSIONS.

The following are the conclusions at which I have arrived as the result of the foregoing review:

Whilst it is impossible to foresee the precise mode in which the federation of the world will be brought about,

\* Since the above was written I have learned with much satisfaction that, at the meeting of the Scandinavian group of the Interparliamentary Union held in Stockholm immediately prior to our Congress, a resolution in favor of Scandinavian federation was adopted.

it is the duty of pacifists to keep before them this ideal as the ultimate goal of their efforts and the definitive means by which universal peace can be assured. Meanwhile, they should seek to promote and develop all partial approximations to this ideal, such as :

1. International Unions (postal, railway, industrial property and the like).
2. International Courts of Arbitration and Arbitral Justice.
3. Federations of neighboring states, including Customs Unions.
4. The regularization and consolidation of the Hague Peace Conferences.

### Sweden and the Peace Movement.

BY ARVID GRUNDEL.

[The following account of the peace movement in Sweden, published and circulated at the time of the Congress, will be found most interesting in view of the recent meeting of the International Peace Congress at Stockholm. — ED.]

It was in 1869 that modern peace ideas were first disseminated in Sweden, and it was in the Parliament that they were set forth. It is interesting to notice that the promoter of these ideas was a peasant. This man, Jonas Jonasson of Gullaboas, made that year a proposition to the Chamber of Deputies with a view to disarmament, in which Sweden was to take the initiative. The proposition was, of course, rejected by the Chamber. This same man, in 1874, made to the Parliament the proposition that a memorial be addressed to the government to solicit its aid in favor of arbitration. This proposition was adopted by the House, but rejected by the Senate. Consequently no memorial was prepared.

In 1883 K. P. Arnoldson and Claes Adelsköld, Representatives, made a proposition asking for the declaration of the permanent neutrality of Sweden. This proposition was rejected by both the House and the Senate. The question of neutrality was taken up again in Parliament, in 1894, by P. P. Waldenström and, in 1899, by S. A. Hedin, the most eminent member of the Swedish Parliament in recent times. He renewed his proposition in 1902, and was supported by a large number of Representatives and Senators, who, however, did not succeed in obtaining the approval of the Parliament.

On the initiative of Edward Wawrinsky, a Representative, a Swedish Parliamentary Peace Committee was founded in 1892. This soon transformed itself into a more permanent organization, called the Interparliamentary Peace Group of the Parliament, which now numbers one hundred and eighty-seven Representatives and Senators out of three hundred and eighty, or forty-one Senators and one hundred and forty-six Representatives. This group, as well as the two other Scandinavian groups, are represented in the Scandinavian Interparliamentary Union, founded in 1907, and whose second conference took place this year at Stockholm July 30. The present president of the Union, as well as of the Swedish group, is Baron Carl Carlson Bonde, a Representative.

Since 1901, through the efforts of Edward Wawrinsky, the International Peace Bureau at Berne has received from the Parliament a yearly contribution of one thousand francs. The Interparliamentary Union has been receiving from the Parliament since 1909 a contribution of the same amount.

The organization of the peace movement is likewise due to the initiative of the Parliament. It dates from 1883, when K. P. Arnoldson, the above named Representative, and others, founded the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society. This Society was founded exclusively by Representatives and Senators, who were at first the only members of it. But other persons soon enrolled themselves as members and later took the direction of the Society. At the beginning the Society had an extraordinary success, which, however, soon weakened. During a long period it led a feeble existence in spite of the energetic efforts of a small number of friends of peace. During the last ten years the Society has been considerably enlarged, and at the present moment it is more powerful than ever. It is composed of thirteen local committees, that of Stockholm (three hundred and thirty members), Gothenburg, Uppsala, Örebro and other great centres, and has in all about a thousand members. There are also seventy-two local groups counting more than a thousand members; and there are about thirteen hundred members in different places who are connected directly with the mother Society. This makes a total of thirty-three hundred members. In 1905 an independent organization was formed called the Swedish Peace Federation, of which Dr. N. A. Nilsson is president. But this year this federation has affiliated itself with the Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society. The leaders of the Society have been Carl Sundblad, a teacher, and, for the last two years, Knut Sandstedt, superintendent of the census, and also, at certain periods, Edward Wawrinsky. The Society holds an annual general meeting and publishes a monthly organ, "The Peace Banner" (*Fredsbanan*), of which the editor is Emil Larsson, the secretary of the Society.

In 1898 the Swedish Women's Peace Society was founded, of which the president is Mrs. Emilia Broomé. In spite of the fewness of its members, this Society has carried on a very useful propaganda. It publishes a series of pamphlets and an annual report.

Besides these organizations, which have members everywhere in Sweden, independent societies have been formed in certain cities as Malmö, Norrköping, Lund and Sundsvall. Peace has also a large part in the program of the Society "Internationalis Concordia" at Stockholm, the president of which is Mrs. Fanny Pettersson.

These various organizations created, in 1907, an association entitled "The Collaboration Committee of the Peace Societies," whose president is Mrs. Emilia Broomé. This committee, in 1908, extended to the peace workers the invitation to hold the eighteenth International Congress at Stockholm.

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society, in 1893, took the initiative in a memorial to the king and parliament urging a pronounced pacific policy. This petition was signed by not less than two hundred and fifty thousand persons, a fact which proves the great peace enthusiasm of the Swedish people. The petition was presented in 1896. When, in 1899, the Swedish Women's Peace Society set to work to collect signatures to a petition addressed to the first Hague Conference, just about the same number of signatures (two hundred and twenty-eight thousand) were secured in two months.

Sweden made a very great contribution to peace work when, in 1896, Alfred Noble, an engineer and inventor,